

## Message Text

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47

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 SSO-00 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 INRE-00 DODE-00 IGA-02 ACDA-05

AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 L-03 EUR-12 ARA-06 MC-02 EB-07

/083 W

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O R 031554Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2769

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0286

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: MILI, PFOR, XA, ZA

SUBJECT: REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINTS STUDY: COMMENTS RE ZAMBIA

REF: CFR NO. 3; STATE 020621

1. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REASONS WHY WE BELIEVE ZAMBIA WOULD  
IN PRINCIPLE BE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO INTRODUCTION OF QUALITATIVE  
OR QUANTITATIVE RESTRAINTS ON TRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS INTO  
SOUTHERN AND EASTERN AFRICA. THESE REASONS INCLUDE:

(A) PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S DEVOTION TO PRINCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE AND  
HIS DECIDED PREFERENCE FOR SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA POLITICAL  
PROBLEMS BY PEACEFUL MEANS IF AT ALL POSSIBLE;

(B) KAUNDA'S BASIC ANTI-MILITARISM AND HIS ULTIMATE HOPE TO  
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KEEP DOWN BOTH SIZE AND COST OF ZAMBIAN REGULAR MILITARY ESTAB-

LISHMENT BOTH FOR BUDGETARY AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS;  
(C) CURRENT ZAMBIAN BOP DIFFICULTIES WHICH MAKE PURCHASE OF  
NEW AND SOPHISTICATED ARMS DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT  
LONG-TERM CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS;  
(D) CONCERN THAT ARMS PURCHASES FROM ONE OR ANOTHER MAJOR  
POWER TO KEEP ZAMBIA IN A REGIONAL ARMS RACE COULD IN TIME PUT  
ZAMBIA'S POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT IN JEOPARDY.  
(E) PROBLEMS OF MAINTENANCE, LOGISTICS, AND TRAINING.

2. AT PRESENT MOMENT, HOWEVER, ZAMBIAN VIEWS ON REGIONAL  
ARMS RESTRAINTS WOULD BE STRONGLY COLORED BY FOLLOWING DEVELOP-  
MENTS:

(A) CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA AND LARGE-SCALE INTRODUCTION OF SOVIET  
ARMS AND CUBAN COMBAT TROOPS, INCLUDING TANKS, 122 MM  
ROCKETS, AND JET FIGHTERS. ZAMBIANS DO NOT ANTICIPATE IMMINENT  
THREAT OF ATTACK UPON THEMSELVES BY THESE FORCES BUT ARE  
NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED OVER THIS MILITARY AID TO MPLA WHOSE BID  
TO GAIN EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OVER ANGOLA ZAMBIA OPPOSES. IN  
ADDITION TO FEARS OF HAVING UNFRIENDLY, SOVIET-BACKED NEIGHBOR  
IN ANGOLA AND POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON ZAIRE, ZAMBIANS  
ARE DISTURBED THAT ANGOLAN CONFLICT ALREADY SPILLING OVER INTO  
ZAMBIA (LUSAKA 235 AND 250) WITH CONSEQUENT INCREASE IN  
INTERNAL SECURITY PROBLEMS ALONG WESTERN BORDERS.

(B) POTENTIAL THREAT OF UPSURGE IN GUERRILLA WARFARE DIRECTED  
AGAINST WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICAN  
PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA. ZAMBIANS FEAR THAT IF POLITICAL SOLUTIONS  
TO RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS ARE NOT SOON FORTHCOMING,  
PRESSURES TO LIBERATE THOSE COUNTRIES THROUGH SUPPORT BY AFRICAN  
COUNTRIES FOR ARMED STRUGGLE WILL INCREASE AND ZAMBIAN NON-  
INVOLVEMENT COULD NOT BE ASSURED.

(C) CONCERN OVER FUTURE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPANSIONISM, ESPECIALLY  
IN LIGHT OF NEW AND WIDE-RANGING DEFINITION OF SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE  
PARAMETERS OFFERED WITH INTRODUCTION OF DEFENSE AMENDMENT ACT  
LAST MONTH. FACT THAT SOUTH AFRICA ALONE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS  
SOME SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ARMS PRODUCTION MUST MAKE ZAMBIANS  
CAUTIOUS ABOUT CONCLUDING AGREEMENTS TO RESTRICT THEIR OWN AND  
OTHER BLACKAFRICAN STATES' ACCESS TO ARMS AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE  
ABROAD.

(D) UNEASINESS OVER PAST SOVIET ARMS AID TO UGANDA AND MOTIVES  
BEHIND IDI AMIN'S ACQUISITION OF SOPHISTICATED MILITARY EQUIPMENT.  
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(E) FEAR THAT REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS MIGHT BE USED  
BY WEST AS MEANS TO PREVENT FLOW OF ARMS TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND THEREBY PREVENT THEM FROM PURSUING  
OPTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST WELL ARMED AND ENTRENCHED WHITE  
MINORITY GOVERNMENTS.

3. ON BALANCE, WE CONCLUDE ZAMBIANS  
WOULD PROBABLY PREFER TO

LIMIT THEIR ARMS PURCHASES BUT GIVEN THREATS THEY PRESENTLY SEE TO THEIR NATIONAL SECURITY (AND WHICH LED JANUARY 28 TO DECLARATION OF FULL STATE OF EMERGENCY) THEY WOULD BE UNLIKELY FOREGO OPTION OF ACQUIRING MORE SOPHISTICATED ARMS, INCLUDING TANKS, MISSILES, AND JET FIGHTERS, IF BUDGETARY RESTRAINTS COULD BE REMOVED OR SUFFICIENTLY LONG-TERM ARMS CREDITS OFFERED. IN FACT, WE HAVE REPORTS THAT ZAMBIANS RECENTLY ACQUIRED THEIR FIRST TANKS, PROBABLY PURCHASED UNDER 1974 AGREEMENT WITH SOVIET UNION, AND ARE NEGOTIATING WITH FRENCH TO ACQUIRE MIRAGE AIRCRAFT.

4. POSSIBLE ROLE FOR USG. FOR POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL REASONS, ZAMBIANS WOULD BE UNLIKELY ACCEPT US SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. IN ADDITION TO DENT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS WOULD MAKE IN ZAMBIAN CLAIM TO BE NON-ALIGNED, RECENT RECORD OF US WITH RESPECT TO SUPPORT FOR MODERATES IN ANGOLA HARDLY ENCOURAGING TO ZAMBIAN LEADERS WHO HAVE EXPRESSED PRIVATELY THEIR FEARS THAT USG MAY NOT BE ABLE TO ACT TO PREVENT ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET-CONTROLLED REGIMES IN ANGOLA AND PERHAPS ELSEWHERE ON AFRICAN CONTINENT. ZAMBIANS WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO US OFFER OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE BUT DOUBTFUL THEY WOULD BE WILLING TRADE FOR THIS THEIR FREEDOM TO SEEK FOREIGN ARMS SO LONG AS THEY CONTINUE TO SEE THEIR NATIONAL SECURITY STRONGLY THREATENED.

5. ONLY REAL ROLE WE CAN SEE FOR USG WHICH WOULD PROVIDE INCENTIVE FOR ZAMBIANS TO ENTER INTO REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT AGREEMENT WOULD BE POLITICAL ONE WHICH ASSURED (A) EARLY DEPARTURE OF SOVIETS AND CUBANS FROM ANGOLA, ALONG WITH THE HEAVIER AND MORE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY WHICH THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM, AND (B) EARLY PROGRESS TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY RULE FOR NAMIBIA, WITH SOME PROSPECT FOR END TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. ONLY AREA-WIDE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS STEMMING FROM CONTINUATION OF WHITE-MINORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD PROVIDE ZAMBIANS WITH SUFFICIENT

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ENCOURAGEMENT TO FOREGO FUTURE ACQUISITION OF MORE SOPHISTICATED ARMS. COROLLARY OF THIS IS THAT ANY REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT AGREEMENT MUST NOT ONLY BE AMONG BLACK AFRICAN STATES BUT ALSO INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA AND PROVIDE FOR SOME CONTROLS OVER DOMESTIC PRODUCTION OF ARMS AS WELL AS THEIR IMPORTATION.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ARMS, CONVENTIONAL WARFARE, STUDIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 FEB 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976LUSAKA00286  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760040-0993  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760288/aaaaczmg.tel  
**Line Count:** 160  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 20621  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 JUL 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <01 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <13 OCT 2004 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** REGIONAL ARMS RESTRAINTS STUDY: COMMENTS RE ZAMBIA  
**TAGS:** MILI, PFOR, XA, ZA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006